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776 out with a bow and arrow in his hand, and as he danced in front
535 of the spectators he pretended to shoot at them.

In another dance he represented *Ele*, the lightning. He sat on a stone that had been placed in the middle of the open space, swinging his arms to the time of the chorus, and every now and then shaking his leg.

This observation is an important one in several ways. Although I asked the man to repeat it, in order that I might make fuller notes and obtain explanations of many obscure points, and although he grudgingly said that he would, yet he did not do so. He was, moreover, very reserved over the matter, and not very willing to talk about his own performance.

I believe that the performance was an entirely exceptional affair. I never at any other time either saw or heard of one man or even several men, giving a dance for the amusement of others. I think that the whole thing was entirely the invention of the performer. He had given the same performance, or one very similar, at least once before the occasion on which I saw it.

We may now turn to the Andamanese beliefs relating to the soul and the life after death.

161 The vital principle is at different times identified by the
775 Andamanese with the pulse, the breath, with the blood and with
766 the fat, particularly the kidney-fat. Thus the body of a slain enemy is burnt so that the blood and fat may be consumed in smoke and ascend to the sky where they will no longer be a danger to those who have slain him.

822 The nearest approach to our notion of a soul that the natives
828 possess is their belief concerning the double or reflection seen in
774 a mirror. In the Northern tribes the word *ot-jumulo* means "reflection," and also "shadow," and is also nowadays applied to a photograph. The word *ot-jumu*, in the same languages, means "a dream" or "to dream." We may perhaps translate the word *ot-jumulo* as meaning "soul." In the *Aka-Bea* language *ot-yolo* is "reflection," while there is a different word, *ot-diya* or *ot-lere*, for "shadow," and neither of the words has any connection with the word "dream" which is *taraba*. Mr Man translates the word *ot-yolo* as "soul."

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The fact that the words for dream and reflection, double or shadow are from the same root in the Northern languages is of interest. Dreams are sometimes explained by saying that the sleeper's double (*ot-jumulo*) has left his body and is wandering elsewhere. Dreams are regarded as being veridical, or at any rate, as having importance. One man told me how, in a dream the night before, his *ot-jumulo* had travelled from where we were to his own country and had there seen the death of the baby of a woman of his own tribe. He was fully convinced that the baby must really have died.

An Andamanese will never, or only with the very greatest reluctance, awaken another from sleep. One explanation of this that was given to me was that the *ot-jumulo* or double of the sleeper may be wandering far from his body, and to waken him suddenly might cause him to be ill.

The principle on which dreams are interpreted is a very simple one. All unpleasant dreams are bad, all pleasant ones are good. The natives believe that sickness is often caused by dreams. A man in the early stages of an attack of fever, for instance, may have a bad dream. When the fever develops he explains it as due to the dream. If a man has a painful dream he will often not venture out of the camp the following day, but will stay at home until the effect has worn off. The natives believe that they can communicate in dreams with the spirits, but the power to do this regularly is the privilege of certain special individuals, known as *oko-jumu* (dreamers). However, an ordinary individual may occasionally have dreams of this kind.

I found that any attempt to study the dreams of such a people as the Andamanese is made very difficult by the fact that it is never possible to tell how far the original dream has been arranged and altered by the waking imagination. So far as my observations went the majority of dreams are either visual or motor, or both. Further reference to dreams will be made later in connection with magic.

When a man or woman dies the double (or as some of the natives explain it, the breath) leaves the body and becomes a spirit (*lau* or *ćauga*). By death a man ceases to exist as a man, and begins a new existence as a spirit.

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The Andaman Islander seems to regard the dream-world as a world of shadows or reflections, for he uses the same word to denote a shadow, a reflection in a mirror, and a dream (the stem *-jumu* in *Aka-Jeru*). Now when a man enters this shadow-world in sleep he is, as we have seen, conceived as coming into partial contact with the world of spirits. Hence the Andaman Islander believes that in dreams he may communicate with the spirits, that dreams may be a cause of sickness, and that in dreams a medicine-man can cause or cure sickness in his fellows. In this shadow-world the man himself becomes as it were a shadow, a mere reflection of himself; it is not he that lives and acts in his dreams but his *ot-jumulo*, his double, his shadow-self, or, as we might say, his soul. It is but a step from this to the representation of the spirit-world as a similar world of shadows and dream-shapes, and to the conclusion that when a man dies it is his *ot-jumulo* that becomes the spirit.

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To summarise the argument, the belief in the world of spirits rests on the actual fact that a dead person continues to affect the society. As the effect is one of disorganisation, whereby the social sentiments are wounded, the dead are avoided and the spirits are regarded with fear. But as a recently dead person is still regarded with feelings of attachment by his friends, the resulting final attitude towards the spirits is ambivalent. By a simple step the spirits come to be regarded as the cause of sickness and death, and therefore as hostile to living men. Yet, as the beliefs about medicine-men show, it is possible for exceptional individuals to be on terms of friendship with the spirits. Finally, the dream-life affords a means by which the spirit-world may be represented in a simple and concrete manner. This last feature (the association of the spirits with dreams) I believe to be a secondary elaboration of the primary or fundamental belief which shows itself in the ritual of death and mourning, serving only to rationalise it and make it more concrete. This need of concrete representation of the spirit-world shows itself in other beliefs, in which may be seen the tendency to become self-contradictory that is often the mark of ideas that arise as the result of attempts to rationalise conative and affective impulses. The spirits are, on the one hand, as it were shadows or images

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775 certain of their ancestors (*.tô·mola*) are stated to have vanished from earth in the form of various kinds of animals and fish.
772 The spirits of those not thus transformed, although in Hades, are believed occasionally to assist them in performing tasks of unusual difficulty; and it is thought that all the departed are to some extent conscious of what transpires in the world they once inhabited, and are able to promote the welfare of those who bear them in mind.[1]

25. Between the earth and the eastern sky there stretches an invisible cane bridge (*pī·dga-làr-chàu·ga-*) which steadies the former and connects it with *jer·eg-* (paradise); over this bridge the *souls* (*ōt-yō·lo-*) of the departed[2] pass into paradise, or to *jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-*, which is situated below it: this latter place might be described as purgatory, for it is a place of punishment for those who have been guilty of heinous sins, such as murder. Like Dante, they depict it as very cold, and therefore a most undesirable region for mortals to inhabit. From all this it will be gathered that these despised savages believe in a future state, in the resurrection, and in the threefold constitution of man

26. In serious illness the sufferer's spirit (*chàu·ga-*) is said to be hovering between this world and Hades,[3] but does not remain permanently in the latter place until some time after death, during which interval it haunts the abode of the deceased and the spot where the remains have been deposited.[4] In dreams
• 774 it is the soul which, having taken its departure through the nostrils, sees or is engaged in the manner represented to the sleeper.

27 The Andamanese do not regard their shadows[5] but their *reflections* (in any mirror) as their souls. The colour of the soul is said to be red, and that of the spirit black, and, though invisible to human eyes,[6] they partake of the form of the person
775 to whom they belong. Evil emanates from the soul, and all good from the spirit; at the resurrection they will be re-united and live permanently on the new earth, for the souls of the wicked will then have been reformed by the punishments inflicted on them during their residence in *jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-*.

28. The future life will be but a repetition of the present, but all will then remain in the prime of life, sickness and death will be unknown, and there will be no more marrying or giving in

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 8, and "Death and Burial," paragraph 18.
[2] Their *spirits* (*chàu·ga-*) pass to *.chá·itán-* (*vide* paragraphs 22 and 23).
[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 289.
[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 4 and 15.
[5] As is believed to be the case among certain races, *e.g.*, the Benin negroes.
[6] Save those of the *óko-pai·ad-* (*vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 7).